Yet this Mundurucu had gone nearly mad over the Parintintin head. He would not part with it for an instant. When the time came for me to leave Necodemos, as I shall relate below, he and twelve other Indians escorted me on my eight-day journey through the forest to the headwaters of the Cadeveri. In the course of this trip, when evening came and we had to stop for the night, the Indian would thrust into the ground next to his hammock a staff which he carried expressly [85] for this purpose, and on which he would hang the head, as if on a clothes-rack, covering it carefully with a cloth I had given him.

At dawn, his first glance was for the head: he would place it in his lap, run his fingers through its long hair, and caress it as if it were a beloved daughter.

He only handed me this relic at the last moment, when I had already embarked for my descent of the Cadeveri, and then he still said: "But I wanted it for myself!" I must say I had made him a present of a double-barrelled shotgun, some gunpowder, shot-lead, and other objects. Nevertheless, his gaze followed us until our canoe had vanished down the river.

In Necodemos there was yet another mummified head. It had been the head of a Parintintin warrior. The Mundurucu who owned it, already quite old, did not wish to show it to me and would not talk about it: I did not press the issue. Some of the Mundurucu wore necklaces made from the teeth of enemies they had killed.

I saw children said by my interpreter to be captives taken in the last war. The villagers, however, did not even mention the subject; perhaps they feared that we should want to take their prisoners from them.

V

Legend of Mundurucu beginnings. -- Beliefs and traditions. -- Appearance of "Caru-Sacaebe." -- Ingratitude of the inhabitants of Acupari -- Punishment. -- Necodemos as the cradle of the human race.

It seemed to me that I could distinguish traces of an ancient civilization among these strange people. The Mundurucu

live in a strongly organized republic; for a long time they have made war on their enemies whenever it has pleased them to do so; they pronounce sentence of [86] death on sorcerers; they have a legend of their own beginnings; and they possess beliefs and traditions which are handed down from generation to generation.

Could these people, I wondered, be descendants of Quechua or Aymara who came down from the Andes and settled in these parts? I investigated their traditions with the greatest care, and questioned repeatedly the oldest inhabitants of the maloca as to whether their ancestors might have come from the high and distant lands that lie towards the sun's hiding place. But they invariably answered that it had not been so; the first men to appear upon the earth had founded the maloca of Acupari. Caru-Sacaebë appeared among them and taught them how to hunt; until then the game had been poor; Caru-Sacaebë caused larger game to appear.

He had neither father nor mother; he had a son by the name of Carutaú and a companion by the name of Rairu, who acknowledged him as his master.

One day, Caru-Sacaebë had no luck in hunting. He returned to Acupari and sent his son Carutaú to ask the hunters for some of the fowl -- inhambu and partridge -- which they had killed in abundance.

The hunters however, turned him down and mockingly threw Carutaú the birds' feathers, saying: "Your father, too, is a good hunter."

Thrice Caru-Sacaebë repeated his request; thrice the hunters turned him down.

Then Caru-Sacaebë gathered up the feathers which they had mockingly thrown at Carutaú and thrust them one by one into the ground around the maloca. And suddenly, with one gesture, he changed all the inhabitants of Acupari -- men and women, old people, youths and children -- into wild pigs.

The hungry animals roared and threshed about [87] and were about to scatter, when with another gesture Caru-Sacaebë turned the feathers into high hills.

[Bounded on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintin
438 (Parikanãna or Uaxetvéit), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajos with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas
Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca
do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 204.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajós, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several [of] their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on [the] Tapajos 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Maubé 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

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** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajos produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1,05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Maubé 1,500 and those of Canomã 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canomã gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

● 174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucús originally

● [74] formed a war-like tribe far in the south along with other fellow tribesman with whom they then grew at odds and fought their way toward the north over the boundaries of their earlier common territory. What strikes me here as particularly remarkable is the contrast between a bodily structure according to all reports remarkably uniform and a very mixed dialect: On the one hand their light skin and the colossally [42] powerful muscular build makes them appear, in contrast to the other Indians, like thoroughbreds among ponies and would indicate that they developed these striking bodily characteristics over a long period of time, unmixed and under consistent external conditions. On the other hand [47] words occur in their language which can be considered to be echoes from tribes living far to the south and the north. •

> "The Mundrucu word for "bird" is nuissa and among the Guaycurus far to the south it is nioche. Several words belong to the Guch or Coco tribe: "heaven," capi Mundr., capu Tamanaco, apex Chiquito. "Tooth (my)": woi noi M., nuoi Moso. "Body": oi tipit M., pitpeté Tamanaco. "Sun": uischi M., veju Accawai, Tamanaco, saache Moxo. "River" is described by the Mundrucus better than in the lingua geral, (where the word is yguacu) by the word icuri, or yghcori, which is to say "fast water"; it is called by the Galibis in Cayenne eicourou (or epouliri), by the Chiquitos ogirus. Two color names: white and red in Mundrucu are yuristat and ipacpec, in Kechuan yurac and paco.

The principal elements of their dialect belong without any question to the Tupi and in particular to the speech as practiced in the north rather than to the Guarani dialect, though to this latter it is more similar in hardness and unwieldiness than to the more fluid and vowel-richer sounds of the lingua geral. • In the table which follows [397]

> "Some relevant examples: oca "house," Mundrucu: ôcka. T. cururú, "toad,"

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The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waru* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

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tems, despite combining matrilocality and patrilineality. Contemporary informants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Mundurucú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered elements of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Mundurucú society.

According to Martius (1867:393), the Mundurucú were apparently patrilocal, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man, however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (ibid:393). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (ibid:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of kin terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The practice of avuncular marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Metraux (1948:111–12) state that avuncular marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avuncular marriage had this function among the Mundurucú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Mundurucú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

The reader will remember that contemporary Mundurucú informants specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avuncular marriage, and this form of marriage was not reflected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household until his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avuncular marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological theorization on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which would disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:630), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:425). Titiev (1943:516) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> "... there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

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Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:524–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

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tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring clanless groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group. This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

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several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

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adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not intergrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow clan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

Matrilocality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality. Murdock (ibid:218) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilaterality, but then says (ibid:212) that such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to patrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at once. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilocality eventuated in matrilineality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilaterality. The question would merely be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least stress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's family and the taboo on avuncular marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilocality. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for the inroads of the rubber trade, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrilineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change, and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change and no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By the same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakened by loss of its residential basis.

If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case argues in favor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions about ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (ibid:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be traced in terms of more clearly deducible priorities of cultural evolution. This continuum would range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1936) through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldschmidt 1948; Steward 1937) to, perhaps, the nonlocalized patrilineal clan (Titiev 1943). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter stage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due to early horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionary scheme is a model and not an invariant sequence, for local historical and ecological situations influence particular culture continua, as is evidenced by Mundurucú history. The latter variables operate as codeterminants with the factors introduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequences which are multilinear in nature. The very pluralism of the causal process renders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure statements of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what is probable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilocality to matrilocality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a further transition to the matrilineate was therefore possible. More field work, especially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with this hypothesis in mind might well uncover additional examples.

The Relations Between the Mundurucu and the Tupi

Kurt Nimuendajú

[97] On the basis of the comprehensive study of the language of the Mundurucu, one of the Indian tribes of Brazil, undertaken by the Rev. Father Albert Kruse, the learned Franciscan missionary and indefatigable explorer of Brazil, Mr. K. Nimuendajú [976] traced the relationship between the Mundurucu and Tupi. He established their kinship, which manifests itself "in vocabulary as well as in grammar. With regard to vocabulary, it is striking that precisely the most important nouns from the categories 'parts of the body' and 'natural phenomena' are without exception related to Tupi. In the field of grammar the close relationship of the pronouns is of great importance. [77] These similarities cannot be possibly explained by the influence of the Apiakás and Parintingtings, quite apart from the fact that, while such an influence might conceivably have been exerted on the Tapajós-Mundurucus and Madeira-Mundurucus, it must be ruled out entirely for the Xingú-Mundurucus, who do not even know the names of these tribes. I, therefore, classify the Mundurucu language with the Tupi family, without saying, however, that the Mundurucus are [74] Tupis ... What little information I have at my disposal makes me doubt that the Mundurucus were originally Tupi.." (Lose Blätter vom Cururú, 1938, p. 80)

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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had doubtless begun long before the establishment of the present mission; it is probable that items of Christian belief have diffused to the Mundurucú and been reinterpreted by them for a period of more than 150 years. These items of belief are now, from the viewpoint of the Indians, Mundurucú ideas. They recognize the affinity between Christian concepts and stories and some of their own, but they shrug off the former by saying that that is the way the priests tell the stories. Some informants thought that the priests had learned them from the Mundurucú—and learned them poorly.

The vast majority of Christian teachings have not, of course, been integrated into Mundurucú culture, and the Indians are exposed to these alien beliefs whenever they visit the mission or are visited by priests. Some of these, as the concepts of sin and damnation, are well known to the people, but make no emotional impact upon them. The idea of sin, especially original sin, is predicated upon the type of internalized authority more characteristic of the members of a complex society. Mundurucú social control is not dependent upon a sense of guilt, and the structure of personal relations is adequate to govern individuals. The Indians look upon this central theme of Christianity with mixed views. Some feel that hell is the particular destination of white people, but others barely bother to think about it at all. This summarizes the attitude of most Mundurucú toward missionary instruction. They rarely disbelieve the priests, for the latter are regarded as wise and sincere men. But their teachings are thought to be those of white men and thus to be true only for white men. There is no single and absolute body of unchangeable truth to the Mundurucú mind. Within their own mythology, for example, there are two separate origins of man; logically, this appears contradictory, but the Mundurucú do not put these beliefs to the test of logic. This statement does not imply that the Indians are illogical. Rather, it merely suggests that they, like most primitives, are not theologians. For this reason, the native and Christian beliefs coexist quite easily; but most Mundurucú have little interest in the latter, although they may not actively resist and reject them.

Social and Economic Changes

Although it is doubtful that Christian proselytization has resulted in a large-scale displacement of native beliefs, the fact still remains that many aspects of Mundurucú religion are in full decline. This decadence is not understandable as the result of a conflict of patterns of belief. Rather we must view religion, with Durkheim, as being in some way an expression of the mode of organization of the society. Also we are not concerned merely with belief, but with the closely connected subject of ritual; and the form of ritual is directly related to the structure of the social group that implements it.

With this thought in mind, we can review some of the major changes that have taken place in Mundurucú society since their contact with the whites. First, the Mundurucú were evidently patrilocal, as contrasted to their later matrilocality, until some time in the early nineteenth century.[2] This change in residence patterns revolutionized Mundurucú social structure. More than 40

[2] See Murphy (1956) for a full discussion of the causes and implications of this change.

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patrilineal clans, ranked loosely into unnamed phratries and divided almost equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patrilineality disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage nucleii and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service had in a sense become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men.

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Cururú River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matrilocality is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Cururú River. The Cururú villages are the result of migrations by nuclear and extended families from near-by savannah villages and do not represent the simultaneous moves of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Cururú and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Cururú River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. Men reside in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Cururú River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.[10]

Other factors have modified Mundurucú social structure and religion. The population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago;[11] this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has decreased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucú and to promote the growing disinterest in the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, there has been a profound shift in subsistence base among those Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers. In contrast to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting.

[10] The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Cururú River villages are compared and analyzed with reference to the ecology of rubber collection in another work. (Murphy, 1954.)

[11] According to some sources, this decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 390) estimated the Mundurucú population to be 40,000 in 1819, and Tocantins (1877, p. 101) calculated their number to be 16,910 in 1875.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Mundurucú ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their coöperation.

This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Mundurucú culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Mundurucú men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[6] and the Mundurucú are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about a more southerly origin of the Mundurucú,[7] which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Mundurucú religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

The mother of the game, or *putcha îi*,[8] protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *putcha îi* and animals is conceived by the Mundurucú to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *putcha îi* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *putcha îi* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirakuá*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coatá monkey. The Mundurucú *wirakuá* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirakuá* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirakuá* guise, the *putcha îi* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Mundurucú country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Mundurucú shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *putcha îi* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *putcha îi* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *putcha îi* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[6] See the myth of Perisuat on pp. 187–201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[7] Cf. Martius, 1867, p. 396 and Strömer, 1932, p. 1.
[8] Mundurucú words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription and a complete glossary of all Mundurucú terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

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The *mambat ãi* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *mambat ãi*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karõkõ Spirits

The *karõkõ* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karõkõ* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*ĩbĩunbõk*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tubõ*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karõkõ ejewot*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[11] but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karõkõ* of certain villages were also the *karõkõ* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[11] Murphy, 1956.

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panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity.

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ibiunbõk*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ibiunbõk;* one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *aĩũ* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ibiunbõk* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made.

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karõkõ*, go to Karõkõkai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upõtcharõ, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be

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culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced after their contact with the whites, and their only watercraft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.[4] The moiety-phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is considerably more complex than most Tupian societies, and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspondingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mundurucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun-

[4] Steinen, 1894, pp. 222–223.

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try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional homeland as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

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komtí, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yurí* find a bond in *tkönip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Sau* clan may bestow the name *Marí* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirüli* clan of the White moiety and the *Waru*, *Sau*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kokusuet*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

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614 then it may be surmised that Mundurucú clans have un-
•174 dergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a
615 process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tubö while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Mundurucú data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation
121 of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Pat-
591 rilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an
614 expanding population, which causes lineages to break off
174 and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

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ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 209.
[9] Steward, 1936, pp. 343-344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 383.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 383.

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174 591 614 tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember, and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[13] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 439 178 591 614 The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha, or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[14] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in gross amount

[13] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[14] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 395 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Tapajós prepare 6000 pecks [3.12 litres each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Maubé 1500 and those of the Canumá 800, which for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundrucús of the Canumá collected and brought to market 900 arrobas [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundrucús among the whites is to be expected."

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of work performed and the added importance of the cooperative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks and a degree of organization among the women of a household. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[18]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Valley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female

[18] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

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105 labor, in general, and the female work organization, in
174 particular, that extended families increasingly sought to
562 keep their daughters, even at the price of relinquishing the
614 sons. The result was a shift, probably gradual, to a matrilocal mode of residence.

This shift modified the nature of Mundurucú society,
105 and its further consequences will be developed in the
174 course of this chapter. The most immediate and obvious
614 change, however, was the destruction of the residential basis of clanship through the dispersal upon marriage of the men, who are the transmitters of membership. This can be illustrated by the census of one village, which shows that eleven clans are represented among nineteen men. In a matrilocal and matrilineal system, men are also dispersed, but since descent is through females a co-resident lineage having a core of clanswomen can be maintained. This is not possible among the Mundurucú, for the patrilineal descent system places a daughter in a different clan and the opposite moiety from those of her mother. Thus, although the women are nucleated into clusters of blood relatives, the clan membership of these units is also eclectic.

The result of this fragmentation has been the severe
614 weakening of the clan as a functional social entity with corporate prerogatives. In the hypothesized localized form, the clan was a co-resident unit having important economic and political characteristics. Its members were in everyday interaction with each other, and bonds of clanship were continuously manifested and exercised. Moreover, the clan, through its possession of sacred musical instruments, had ritual significance that is perpetuated into the present only as empty form. Other than the continued nominal ownership of the trumpets, clans, as social entities, have few prerogatives. They bury the dead of certain clans of

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KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

582 604 Mundurucú kinship terminology indicates the custom of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter.[19] This avuncular form of union was frequently reported by early chroniclers in South America,[20] and is said by Oberg to exist among the contemporary Kamayurá of the upper Xingú River.[21] Martius specifically reported it to be practiced by the Mundurucú when the sister's daughter had no other prospective husband.[22] Avuncular marriage is nowhere in evidence among the contemporary Mun- [835] durucú, however, and its practice, past or present, is vigorously denied. Informants regarded such a union as incestuous, despite the obvious fact that a sister's daughter is always of the opposite moiety from that of her uncle.

174 582 604 171 Since there is no reason to doubt the mutually corroborating distributional, documentary, and kinship-terminological evidence for sister's daughter marriage, we must assume that it has not only disappeared but has lapsed under such circumstances as to be absolutely proscribed. James Watson has noted a similar disappearance and taboo of sister's daughter marriage among the Cayuá Indians of southern Mato Grosso.[23] Although his evidence for its former practice is rather tenuous, he assumes it to have existed and to have fallen into abeyance due to the breakdown of the patrilineal extended family organization, and the union's consequent loss of function as a means of cementing relations between such units. Also, he assumes that marriages with the sister's daughter were commonly second unions, and the contemporary absence of polygyny would militate against the practice. Such rea-

[19] *See* pp. 93–94.

[20] Kirchoff (1932) presents the most complete discussion of this practice and contends that it was a common means of avoiding bride service.

[21] Oberg, 1953, p. 44.

[22] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

[23] Watson, 1952, pp. 118–121.

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soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates.

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured.

[24] *Cf.* Titiev, 1943, p. 516.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

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177 amount, and the native social structure was directly af-
182 fected.

That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not
121 stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather
182 than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features." [1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was profoundly influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

174 At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into his-
182 tory the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and
61 appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

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clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[2] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant coöperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[2] Murdock, 1949, pp. 216–218.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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182 578 591 weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

182 The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and unilocal residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional savannah villages. But the fact remains that the Mundurucú still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

174 182 It might be argued that the weakness and instability of the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggressions generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institution of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Mundurucú males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Mundurucú

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Mundurucú; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata experienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest.

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Mundurucú social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Mundurucú acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Mundurucú meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Mundurucú were accordingly affected.

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Mundurucú were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Mundurucú social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion.

14: Frikel--1 E-5 (1957) 1959 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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The Agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians *

*Most of the data that follow were gathered in 1957, in the course of a two-month stay among the Indians of the Franciscan mission of Cururú and vicinity. My principal informants were the Mundurukú Tomé, Cirilo, and Antônia. But I am also indebted to the mission fathers for much valuable data, for which I am grateful.

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I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture
II. Garden methods
III. Social factors
IV. Native terminology

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture

241 175 What we know of Mundurukú agriculture is little, and most of it is based on the reports of nineteenth-century travelers. Already in those days the Mundurukú were pictured as a people who possessed a certain level of primitive agriculture. Those /travelers/ speak of [131] the Mundurukú as living on the margins of the Tapajós River and as already being in the first stage of acculturation to the environment of the time. They deal with the subject of "agriculture" as if it were an ancient culture trait among these Indians. This may indeed be 241 174 the truth, for we cannot assert the contrary, /2/ although certain

/2 cont./

*24 174 mythological and legendary traditions of the Mundurukú lead us to believe that they were not always a people given to the cultivation of plants. This, however, /applies to/ a remote past, which is no longer verifiable nowadays. In historic times, ever since they came into contact with civilized people and came to be known, they have been observed to cultivate gardens and to make manioc flour. It is true that the Mundurukú gained greater fame as warriors, for whenever the opportunity arose they did not hesitate to attack even cities such as Santarém (1780) and Gurupá (1784). (1)

*24 175 [269] [721]

1. Horton, 1948: 272-273.

As colonial rule was strengthened, however, and warring activities decreased, these Indians seem to have tended increasingly toward a more stable way of life and a more extensive and more diversified agriculture. I believe that available texts must be interpreted in this light. Even though they are not all in agreement, the traveling writers provide glimpses of a development in the cultivation methods of these Indians.

*24 [361] Martius, speaking in a general way of the Tupi tribes of the upper Tapajós, including the Mundurukú, regards them, precisely because of this incipient agriculture, as seminomadic. He says: "They practice a primitive agriculture and, therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (2) Monteiro Baena

2. "Sie treiben einen nothduerftigen Landbau, sind daher im strengeren Sinne keine Nomaden; doch bleiben ihre Niederlassungen nicht unveraenderlich an derselben Stelle." Martius, 1867: 201.

[175] testifies that at first, in the years following the pacification of the Mundurukú, their propensity for agriculture was not very great or very strong. Referring to the "Mundrucús" forcefully brought to and

/3 cont./

*241 etwas Baumwolle und viel Mandioca-Wurzel, deren Mehl, in Koerbe und breite Blaetter von Palmen ... verpackt, sie an die Schiffer im Tapajóz zu verhandeln pflegen, seitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr getreten sind. ..."

114 (I should like to insert here the following question:
179 Did Martius have knowledge of traditions regarding a preagricultural era of the Mundurukú? It would seem so, for he writes in the above-quoted passage: "... the somewhat dense population can no longer depend exclusively on hunting and fishing"; this might indicate knowledge of a previous stage of the Mundurukú as hunters and gatherers but not as agriculturalists.)

*241 Still more or less in the same period, we have the testimony of Bates who speaks of the Mundurukú as agriculturalists and good workmen in various parts of his book, though he does so rather offhandedly; he notes the fertility of the land and the relatively small effort required of the Indian to bring forth the necessities /4/ of life; he tells of the large gardens of the Mundurukú which he saw on the Cuparí River and of how the women make flour; he says that the [439] Mundurukú carry out a certain amount of flour trading with the traders [244] of the Tapajós, and finally he states that aside from bitter-manioc [249] roots they raise sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. (5)

5. Bates, 1944, passim.

114 There are practically no twentieth-century sources on the Mundurukú. The Franciscan mission has not yet published its materials on these Indians, and the work of Robert Murphy, who also studied this tribe in 1952-53, aside from a few articles, has not reached us. Thus, our knowledge is based almost exclusively on the meager data of the above-mentioned authors. Only Gonçalves